

rücksichtigung diesbezüglicher Tatsachen — vgl. vor allem das Wepsische — gewinnt.

Martti Rapolas Vorlesungen über finnische Lautgeschichte bilden die gründlichste und systematischste Übersicht über die historische Lautlehre der finnischen Sprache. Für einen Einzelnen ist dies eine gewaltige Leistung, nur erklärbar durch die nun schon mehr als fünfzig Jahre währende Forscherarbeit des Verfassers. Rapola war stets ein impulsiver Autor, er hat seine Beobachtungen zur Lautlehre in grossangelegten Abhandlungen wie auch in zahlreichen kleinen Artikeln veröffentlicht. Dass er in seinem Alter noch einmal alles Wesentliche in einem Werk zusammenfassen konnte, ist von besonderem Wert.

Verständlicherweise ist Rapolas Werk nicht ganz modern; dass es ausserdem vieles offenlässt, ist seinem Verfasser durchaus bewusst. Obwohl Rapola ein Empiriker ist und seine Theorien fest auf Material aufbaut, bringt er mitunter doch auch gewagte Hypothesen. Dann gibt er jedoch deutlich zu verstehen, dass Beweise oder Gegenbeweise noch ausstehen und abzuwarten sind. Anfänge dieser Art sind in den SKÄL reichlich enthalten. Auf diese Weise ist das Werk hoffentlich von inspirierendem Einfluss auf die jüngeren Forscher. Fest steht, dass Rapolas Buch in Forschung wie in Lehre fortlaufend benutzt werden wird. Wir haben allen Grund, dem Verfasser wie auch dem Verleger, der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft, dankbar zu sein.

Am Schluss des Buches folgt eine 30 Seiten füllende Bibliographie des Schaffens von Rapola aus den Jahren 1902—1966, zusammengestellt von Rauni Puranen. Das genaue Verzeichnis enthält an 500 Titel.

ALPO RÄISÄNEN

### **Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum. Pars I.**

Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum Helsingiae habitus 23.—28. VIII. 1965. Pars I. Acta linguistica. 586 pg. Helsinki 1968.

The papers read at the Helsinki Fenno-Ugrist Congress have now been published in two substantial volumes. The first part contains the articles dealing with linguistics which number 86 all together. The editing for publication was done by MARTTI KAHLA and ALPO RÄISÄNEN who are to be thanked for a very

careful job. German appears to retain its position as the main language used by Fenno-Ugrists in their international communication: of the articles in the volume 60 are in German, 10 in English, 7 in Russian, 3 in French, 1 in Hungarian, and 5 in Finnish.

This volume can be regarded as a cross section showing the present state of Fenno-Ugric studies. That the field is firmly anchored to traditional historical comparative investigation is obvious even if other trends are in evidence. Phonological and morphological topics are continuously in favor and nearly half of the papers are devoted to these. Nevertheless interest in syntax appears to be increasing. There are a few papers treating general questions concerning the entire group of languages, but the majority of the papers consists of special investigations dealing with individual Finno-Ugric languages. On the basis of the distribution of the articles, studies dealing with Hungarian are best represented, approximately the same number of papers deals with the Balto-Finnic languages, especially Estonian and Finnish. On a smaller scale, although equally distributed, are special investigations dealing with individual Uralic languages, even though there are only 3 articles on the Samoyed group. In addition to the actual papers, the volume includes about a dozen studies presented as summaries of investigations of field work in progress at present.

This writer found the volume rewarding to read even if she occasionally encountered some odd individual points of view. This caused the thought to come to mind that just at these joint international congresses general criticism or evaluation should be given for each paper submitted and subsequently published in conjunction with it so that the reader would be able to see what the general response was to each paper.

In the following review it is possible — because of the sheer number of papers, the great number of topics treated and the sphere of the reviewer's own interests — to discuss only a few of the papers.

Very significant questions dealing with Finno-Ugric historical phonology are treated in W. STEINITZ's article »Die Konsonantenquantität im Finno-ugrischen«. In it Steinitz presents his own views about the consonant system of proto-Finno-Ugric. In this article Steinitz sets forth his own opinion that the consonant system of proto-Finno-Ugric underwent a complete change in the Balto-finnish and Lappish branches as a result of contacts with the Baltic languages. Only at this time did the opposition between single and geminate consonants typifying these branches come into being, the same would hold true for the difference between short and long vowels. According to

Steinitz the proto-language already had geminates but only at morpheme boundaries. On this point the reviewer expected an explanation of the nature of the morpheme boundary in proto-Finno-Ugric. Important topics in historical phonology are also treated by JÁNOS GULYA («Zur Frage des finnisch-ugrischen Vokalsystems») and V. I. ЛУТКИН («Некоторые вопросы вокализма второго слога финно-угорских языков»). In his article »Zum Verhältnis der Derivation und Flexion im Finnisch-ugrischen» ALO RAUN discusses the origin of the case endings, personal endings, possessive suffixes, plural signs, and modal and temporal markers, coming to the conclusion that inflection was at an incipient stage in the proto-language. P. HAJDÚ («Über den Umfang des uralischen Wortschatzes») has begun speculation on the size of the vocabulary of proto-Uralic. In order to arrive at a summary amount he has calculated the number of words consisting of two phonemes in several Uralic languages (Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian, Nenets) and compared this actual number with the number of possible but partially unrealized 2 phoneme combinations. If the percentage figure (similar to that calculated by Trubetzkoy on the basis of German and French material) is considered to be significant, the number of basic words in the proto-language can be presumed to have been approximately 2400 and the total number of vocabulary items 20,000 to 25,000.

Almost a quarter of the works in the volume are devoted to the Finno-Ugric language with the oldest traditions as a language of culture and the largest number of speakers. In his lively article »Die Rolle des Protestantismus bei der Herausbildung der ungarischen Literatursprache» LORÁND BENKŐ outlines the consequences of the rise of Protestantism in north-eastern Hungary in the 16th century after the catastrophic battle of Mohács on the cultural history of Hungary and the literary language just evolving at that time. I. SZATHMÁRI discusses the grammars of Hungarian that appeared in the 17th century in his article »Zur Geschichte der ungarischen Literatursprache des 17. Jahrhunderts». As the writer notes it is especially grammars — which play the central rôle in the deliberate normalization of a language — that are central to the formation of a literary language. On the basis of his investigations the writer comes to the conclusion that the norms of the modern Hungarian literary language were already clear by the end of the 17th century as were the most important features of the present orthographical system. Several important articles deal with the phonological history of Hungarian. BÉLA KÁLMÁN treats the consonant system («Zur Entstehung des ungarischen Konsonantensystems»), ISTVÁN PAPP the final vowels

(»Über das Schicksal der kurzen Auslautvokale im Ungarischen«). GÉZA BÁRCZI's article »Quelques remarques sur l'histoire des occlusives initiales finno-ougriennes en hongrois« is an elegant chapter in two debates centering on problems of Finno-Ugric historical phonology. Under discussion are the two reflexes of Finno-Ugric *\*k-* before back vowels in Hungarian and the word initial voiced stops in the Permian languages and Hungarian. In answer to the first question Bárczi considers six etymologies certain which would prove that *\*k-* was preserved from spirantization before a back vowel. Bárczi refers to his earlier research in which he has presented the opinion that spirantization began in intervocalic stops in word interior position only after the late proto-Ugric period. The tendency to spirantization spread from the interior of the word to word initial position, but its influence became weaker: *\*p-* of course, was spirantized in almost all cases, *\*k-* usually became as spirant before a back vowel but the change was not complete and *t-* was completely preserved from change. As to the question of word initial voiced stops, Barczy takes the position that voicing is a feature that is of common origin in pre-Hungarian and in pre-Permian. In his opinion the voiced stops spread from internal to word-initial position, but, diverging from the position held by Steinitz, Itkonen, and Lakó, he considers the voiced stops which should have developed from the voiceless intervocalic stops in proto-Finno-Ugric to be the point of departure. In the changes of word-initial consonants, voicing anteceded spirantization. As the change *\*k- > χ-* had already taken place before the period of Turkish influence — this being demonstrated by the Turkish loanwords in Hungarian — and since the change *p- > f-* antedated the change *k- > χ-* (in the aforementioned change the tendency to spirantization has not been weakened), it must be dated for the first centuries of the pre-Hungarian period. But since the change *p- > b-* anteceded a spirantization change (*p- > f-*), nothing prevents positing the change *p- > b-* for the time of Finno-Ugric unity. Another paper on Hungarian worthy of mention is JÓZSEF TOMPA's »Die morphologischen Veränderungen der ungarischen Nomina im 20. Jahrhundert«. He demonstrates the existence of a tendency towards leveling and simplification in the morphological system of modern Hungarian. In some sectors of the morphology, for example in the verbal nouns, there is an opposite tendency, namely one leading to the direct coining of new forms.

A. KASK's article about Estonian inessives in the strong grade (»Über die estnischen Inessivformen«) is an excellent example of how a fresh point of view (here a synchronic investigation) can offer a clear solution to a question in which

a previous procedure (in this case diachronic investigation) has demanded nothing but hypothesis after hypothesis. These inessives, which are encountered in the nominal declension of the north-western Estonian dialects and in the literary language (in adverbs) and are, contrary to expectation, in the strong grade, are convincingly demonstrated to be analogical creations based on illative forms. According to the writer the corresponding inessive forms in Votic may be regarded as parallel developments. This releases us from being forced to posit an inessive in *\*-sa* in the proto-language. Questions of quantity in Estonian are always interesting. ILSE LEHISTE writes about vowel quantity (»Vowel Quantity in Word and Utterance in Estonian«). LAURI POSTI (»Über das Quantitätensystem im Estnischen«) presents his already familiar view convincingly documented, in which he argues that there are only two phonologically relevant degrees of quantity in Estonian; in those disyllabic words in which the first syllable is long the unit of quantity consists of both adjacent syllables. Toponymy at its best is presented in VALDEK PALL's article »Muutamien virolaisten paikannimityyppien levinneisyystä« [= On the Spread of some Types of Estonian Place Names]. In it the spread and origin of Estonian place names ending in *-ste* and *-vere* are explained on the basis of linguistic, sociological, and archaeological evidence. TERHO ITKONEN in his article »Einige Fragen der urfinnischen Laut- und Formengeschichte« discusses the mixed paradigm (*-n:-ma*) appearing in a few groups of adjectives (charitative adjectives, superlatives, *lämmiin* [= warm], *hapan* [= sour]) in the Balto-Finnic languages, presenting Ojansuu's old neglected theory of epenthesis and bringing new evidence to support it.

In ERKKI ITKONEN's article »Zur Frühgeschichte der lappischen und finnischen Lokalkasus« emphasis is placed on Lappish. In it Itkonen presents the conjecture that the same type of semi-congruence appearing dialectally between Lappish pronominal or numerical attributes and the main word evidently occurred between an adjective attribute and its main word in an earlier stage in the language. In certain types of adjectives it still clearly occurs in Inari Lappish and is encountered in relic forms in other dialects. Congruence was abandoned at the time when Lappish adjectives developed a separate attributive form. The singular and plural Lappish declensional endings differ from each other to a surprising extent — indeed to a non-Finno-Ugric degree. Itkonen notes that a tendency to emphasize the difference between singular and plural can be observed here; a »tendency towards emphasis« may be observed in the conjugation as well. The view that the de-

clensional endings now occurring in the plural were easier to add to the *j*-plural marker since they all began syllables — the endings in the singular all ended syllables — may also be worthy of mention.

KNUT BERGSLAND treats his theme »The Grouping of the Lapp Dialects as a Problem of Historical Linguistics» by studying the endings of the illative, coming to the conclusion that the history of the illative variants gives no support to the customary division of Lappish dialects which is supposed to be historical. As to the ending, Bergsland comes to the somewhat satisfying conclusion that the several illative endings of modern Lappish are all reflexes of the same ending *\*sen* which corresponds exactly to the illative ending of pre-Finnic. The variety of endings in modern Lappish is explained by the fact that intervocalic *-s-* has developed in two ways in different syllabic position depending on stress. After the second syllable it contracted if the third syllable was also the last (LpS *goatàn*) [= 'hut' ill.], it was preserved in words originally consisting of four syllables (the illative of the possessive declension, for example *goattasád* [= 'hut' ill. 2sg. px.]), it was also preserved after the third syllable (LpS *jipmielāsēn*) [= 'God' ill.]. The type *goattai* (ill.) would have received its *j* element from the illatives of words with a *j* derivational element (LpI ill. *ellejān* ~ *ellei* [= inhabitant]). Compared to the southern *goatàn* type the Tysfjord Sea-Lappish type *gōtta*, and the Skolt and Kola Lappish type *koapta*, as well as the southern Lappish latives *giskə* [= middle of], *mietta* [= along], *vuos'ta* [= towards] etc. which occur as particles, are the relatively recent results of apocope. Just in regards to these particles a certain degree of uncertainty disturbs the reviewer. Would the illative, a case of the nominal paradigm, be used in the formation of lative particles? At least in Inari Lappish this particle type has the characteristic that it occurs as the doublet of the particle with locative (essive) form. If a local essive ending may be added to the root, the corresponding lative case form is always of this type; the true illative, however, presupposes an inessive as its companion component. One would be tempted to see some kind of archaic trait in this.

Three interesting articles are concerned with topics from the Mordvin language. A. ФЕОКТИСОВ discusses the earliest sources of literary Mordvin (»Первые текстовые записи на мордовских языках»), their origin, quality, and present location. From the year 1692 when the first book entry in Mordvin appeared in Nicolaus Witsen's famous work *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, up to the year 1917 some 100 booklets or pamphlets, primarily religious literature, had been published in the Mordvin

language. Approximately 100 manuscripts from the same period have been preserved. Erza-Mordvin is better represented in these literary monuments than is Mokša. V. HALLAP's sketch of the phonological system of one Mordvin dialect («Phonological Problems of the Mokša-Mordvin Language») is based on material he collected from about 30 speakers of that dialect. The influence of Russian on the dialect is quite in evidence. The author has been able to divide the ideolects he investigated into two groups depending upon the degree to which Russian phonetics are reflected in the system of the dialect under discussion. In one type of dialect the phonetic system is clearly different from that of Russian — according to the interesting observation made by the author the speakers of this dialect type are mostly women — and in the other type the phonetic system is close to Russian — this dialect is spoken by part of the men. In addition to vowel and consonant phonemes Hallap distinguishes suprasegmental phonemes of palatalization and accent and presupposes the existence of a phoneme of juncture. K. HEIKKILÄ's paper on derivation — which also touches on morphological problems — «Itämerensuomen *-ek* johtimella vastine mordvassa?» [= A Correspondence to the Balto-Finnic derivational suffix *-ek* in Mordvin?] does not give a final answer. The article is exceptionally refreshing for this reason: it allows the reader to follow the writer's line of reasoning through the entanglement so typical in papers on derivation.

As to investigation of Cheremis ALHO ALHONIEMI's article «Über die distributive Verwendung der tscheremissischen Postposition *γâtš*» and EEVA KANGASMAA-MINN's interesting paper «The Category of the Adnominal Genitive in Cheremis» deserve mention. In the latter the question of the indirect adnominal genitive is raised. It occurs in the «habeo» construction (*iktən ulmaš oš kazaže* 'a man had a white goat', literally 'one's was his white goat'), which has as a peculiarity an interesting three part syntactic structure: the genitive member modifies the subject and the predicate simultaneously when the verb is intransitive; in conjunction with a transitive verb the genitive member modifies the object and the verb. Phenomena comparable to this also occur in Lappish and Finnish syntactic structures. The writer notes that the indirect genitive is nevertheless rare in sentences with an object. In these it is usually replaced by purely adverbial cases. The sentence cited by the writer *jodən una-kudəm pojan jənletš* 'he asked a rich man for a place to sleep', can hardly have anything to do with this construction. Is there a reason for supposing any kind of «broken connection» between the ablative and accusative?

KÁROLY RÉDEI (»Beiträge zur historischen Formenlehre der permischen Sprachen«) investigates the morpheme [*an, jan*] which appears as a collective suffix in certain Zyryene dialects, considering it to be originally a diminutive suffix. (Bergsland explains the Lappish collective suffix [*āččiš* 'son and father, daughter and father'] as the correspondent of the Finnish *-isa* suffix which expresses abundance, not as the correspondent of the *ńé*-diminutive suffix, see *Verba Docent*, pg. 149. The collective suffix and the diminutive suffix differ from one another as to vocalism, see Erkki Itkonen MSFOu 79 pg. 107.) D.R. FOKOS-FUCHS explains Finno-Ugric manners, formulas used in greetings etc. in his amusing article »*Vi<sub>d</sub>ža olannid!* 'Seid gegrüßt!«

MATTI LIIMOLA's excellent article »Das *l* der objektiven Konjugation des Wogulischen« remained especially vivid in the reviewer's mind. The object of investigation is sufficiently narrow to be capable of thorough treatment in this type of limited context being at the same time of sufficient general interest to arouse interest in others besides specialists in Vogul. This *l* element which has been the object of previous discussion appears in the first and second person singular, dual and plural of the objective conjugation of those forms which presuppose a singular object. Most frequently this element has been explained as originating from the possessive suffix of the third person singular used determinatively. Liimola demonstrates the phonological weakness of the earlier explanations and presents his own view that what actually appears is a nominal suffix, the same one that occurs in Vogul as a deverbal nominal derivational suffix (KU *lāpəl* < *lāp-*). This would by no means be an exceptional phenomenon in the conjugation of Vogul which also has a so-called diminutive conjugation. The diminutive suffix occurring in the forms of this conjugation may be placed in precisely the same position in regards to the other structural elements as this *l* element. The occurrence of *l* in specific forms of the first and second person is explained by the fact that precisely in these forms the difference between the objective and subjective conjugation is minor or completely non-existent.

There are three articles dealing with the Samoyed languages: AULIS J. JOKI (»Über den Dual im Selkupischen«) explains the history of the Selkup dual sign and elaborates on certain special features in regards to the use of the dual. IRENE N.-SEBESTYÉN (»Lautwandel in den samojedischen Verbalstämmen«) comes to the conclusion that the vocalic relations in Samoyed cannot be explained as vowel alternation that could be traced back to proto-Samoyed. N. M. TEREŠČENKO's article



(«Некоторые синтаксические особенности нганасанского языка») has as its point of departure the opinion earlier presented by Prokofjev that Nganasan may be considered to be a dialect of Nenets, that it has the same type of syntactic structure as has Nenets. Tereščenko's conclusion is that Nganasan — both in regards to syntax and in other respects as well — is a completely independent Samoyed language which is more conservative than Nenets in several respects. As to comparison with other Samoyed languages, Enets offers a more conservative basis for comparison than does Nenets. Of the syntactic features peculiar to Nganasan presented by Tereščenko an unusual type of nominal conjugation arouses interest from the standpoint of Finno-Ugric. The present is, as one would expect, *mə́nə ɣə́nə''sam* 'I am a human being' (*mə́nə* 'I', *ɣə́nə''sa-* 'human being'); in other tenses the verb 'to be' is used as expected, but the nominal is conjugated in addition: preterite: *mə́nə ɣə́nə''sam isüom* 'I was a human being', future: *mə́nə ɣə́nə''sam isüodəm* 'I shall be a human being'. In Nganasan Tereščenko has discovered case congruence in the genitive and accusative in addition to number congruence in adjective attributes. Numerals appearing as attributes also exhibit congruence.

For those interested in the history of Fenno-Ugric studies two articles will be of interest. G. J. STIPA makes use of hitherto unknown sources in his article «Finnisch-ugrisches Sprachmaterial in Berichten über die Völkerschaften in Russland seit Beginn der Neuzeit». The earliest sources are from the time of the journeys of exploration and they are included in travel descriptions. At this time a northeast passage was being sought to America and India. The oldest material printed in a Finno-Ugric Language — Lappish — is included in Matthias de Miechow's *De duabus Sarmatiis*, 1517. The oldest material in a Samoyed language (1556) was recorded by Richard Johnson who was fortunate enough to be able to observe a shaman seance. A report about a Finn who accompanied the Swedish ambassador through Russia in 1687 and was able to converse in his mother tongue with the Mordvins living on the shores of the Volga prompted G. W. Leibniz to request the ambassador, who was preparing to embark on the same trip ten years later, to have the Finn in his retinue collect vocabulary. This Finn, Henrik Brenner, was imprisoned in Moscow in 1700 when he was on his return voyage. A war had broken out and he spent the next 20 years there as a prisoner. Stipa succeeded in finding Brenner's letter which was included as a supplement to a book on oriental studies published in 1723. In this letter Brenner tells of having enthusiastically gathered data from the

peoples living in the regions between Moscow and Persia; but he lost his material upon being imprisoned. From the letter it becomes evident that he was dealing with the Cheremis (»atque quidam alii, adhuc multa a Fennicae linguae dialecto habent»), Mordvins and Votyaks. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Czar's doctor D. Gottlieb Schober also took notes about the Finno-Ugric languages spoken along the Volga. The manuscript has been lost, but two copies of it have been preserved. The one printed in 1762 has already been known; the other one printed in 1771 is now presented by Stipa. And then the age of Daniel Messerschmidt, J. E. Fischer and P. S. Pallas is reached — the age of the great polyglott dictionaries which appeared as a result of the field work ordered by Peter the Great and Katherine the Second.

ZOLTÁN MIHÁLY CSUPOR's article about Sajnovics (»Emlékezés Sajnovics Jánosra, a finnugor nyelvtudomány megalapozójára») may be read with special interest just now — exactly 200 years since the date when this Hungarian Jesuit, astronomer and mathematician made astronomical measurements on night-less Vardø Island during June, 1769. As a diversion he demonstrated the relationship between Hungarian, Lappish and Finnish. The »Demonstratio» appeared the following year in three editions. Latin and Danish versions were published in Copenhagen and then, later, an enlarged Latin version was published in Nagyszombat. (The value of the enlarged Latin version was further enhanced by Sajnovics's publication in it of the oldest Hungarian document, the 12th century Halotti beszéd, for the first time.) Sajnovics himself was not the first to make notice of the relationship between the Finno-Ugric languages. The first suggestion was given by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later to be Pope Pius II, who tells of having heard that the relatives of the Hungarians lived in Asia under extremely primitive conditions. Sajnovics outlined the idea and transformed it into scientific truth in the *Demonstratio*. We know that there is a Sajnovics museum at Tordas, but Sajnovics certainly deserves the demonstration of respect which Csopor suggests at the end of his article: a monument on the island of Vardø.

RAIJA BARTENS

### **Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum. Pars II.**

Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum Helsingiae habitus 23.—28. VIII. 1965. Pars II. Acta ethnologica. Adiuvantibus Maija-Liisa Heikinmäki & Ingrid Schell-